



A Biography of The Great Thirteenth Dalai Lama



**Centenary of Political Exile in British India
February 22, 1910**

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(Translation by T D Gonkatsang, University of Oxford)



On 22nd February, 2010 we will be commemorating the centenary of the 13th Dalai Lama exile into British India in February 22, 1910.

For our urgent requirement for the forthcoming commemoration, we have taken two important chapters from the book to remind people that "Tibet was an Independent Nation" before communist China invaded Tibet in 1949 and completely occupied in 1959.

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Preface

The idea that I wish to propose is to humbly remind and request all concerned people the necessity and importance of organizing various commemorative events to remember with gratitude HH the Thirteenth Dalai Lama the Great, who, in order to set all beings of the Land of Snows on the path of spiritual and material enrichment and wellbeing, had carried out momentous activities whilst in charge of the temporal and spiritual destiny of the nation of Tibet.

As for the relevant themes are concerned, towards the end of 1909, His Holiness had returned to the Tibetan capital Lhasa after a very successful visit to Mongolia and China where his extensive spiritual and temporal activities earned him great fame and glory. However, not long afterwards when the Manchu Lu-Chun force invaded Lhasa, His Holiness had to leave for the neighbouring country of India on the 22nd of February 1910 with a representative retinue headed by the three Kalons (Cabinet Ministers) Shaydra, Sholkhang and Changkhyim as requested by the Kashag following a consultative meeting with the National Assembly.

And in 1912, as a result of co-ordinated strategic efforts both in and outside Tibet for about three years, Tibetans had won a significant victory when, not only the Chinese officers and soldiers in Central areas of U-and Tsang, but also many of those who had arrived in Kham areas, surrendered and were sent back to China.

At the same time, I also feel it necessary and of paramount importance to organize regular centennial commemorative events to remember the year when the previous Dalai Lama was invited back to the Tibetan capital city of Lhasa and a grand ceremony held when he ascended the gold-throne in the Potala Palace; and other major events such as the Treaty Agreement between Mongolia and Tibet in 1913 and the Tripartite Agreement among Britain, China and Tibet in 1914.

Thus, in order to commemorate and remember with gratitude

the life and works of HH the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, I appeal to all fellow Tibetans, both in and outside Tibet that to make special and concerted efforts for such major commemorative projects beginning from February 22nd 2010, such as organizing seminars, publishing articles, searching and compiling any historical and archival materials extant in Chinese, Indian, English, Russian and other foreign languages pertaining to His Holiness's spiritual and temporal activities; and for the singular task of translating and publishing such materials into a book-form in Tibetan language, I appeal to the intelligentsia as well as others, irrespective of their sectarian affiliations, to collectively shoulder the responsibility.

The key people who can voluntarily bear the onus of such responsibility are the young and elder Tibetans both in and outside Tibet who are well versed in foreign languages as well. and as part of which, I have extracted the quintessential aspects of the life and works of the 13th Dalai Lama's life history for this special publication from the abridged life histories of the successive Dalai Lamas included in the introductory chapter of the first volume of the extended biography of HH the 14th Dalai Lama titled ' Hundred-fold Waves of the Joyous Ocean of Compassion '.

The fact that this abridged biography has got published is a testament to the result achieved through the concerted efforts of many people. The lack of the customary verses of eulogy and concluding prayers at the beginning and end of the biography, as well as any other shortcomings and errors of interpretation are, I acknowledge, solely due to my own inadequacy in knowledge and ability. Accordingly, I request the neutral scholars, both young and elders, to kindly offer your constructive suggestions through the process of refutation and affirmation.

In order to realize the stated aims and aspirations, I end this Preface with high hopes for receiving your help and support from all quarters and at all levels and entrust you to regard this as the parting testament of an eighty-one-year-old Tibetan Government civil servant.

Narkyid Ngawangthondup

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And, last but not least, I would like to offer my heartfelt thanks to Patricia Duggan and her mother Ann Haggerty for their financial support in getting this biography published by the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, under my Public Education Project, in time to commemorate the life and works of the Great Thirteenth Dalai Lama on the occasion of the centenary of his political exile in British India - 1910 - 2010.

Chapter seven

Period of residence in India since 1910 and the victorious return to Tibet in 1912

Exile in India

As mentioned earlier, because of the illegal and excessive atrocities committed against Tibetans as soon as the Lu ch'uan¹ forces had arrived in Lhasa, His Holiness, leaving no stone unturned to communicate directly with Peking, and so on the eve of departure for India on the 3rd of the first month of the Iron-Dog year (12th Feb 1910), appointed the Gadhen Tripa Tsemonling Ngawang Lobsang Tenpai Gyaltshen as the Regent and Khenche Neushag Khyenrab Phuntsog as his Vice Regent. He instructed Regent Tsemonling to appoint Dekyilingpa and Khenchung Gyaltshen Phuntsog to be appointed Kalons in addition to Kalon Lama Lobsang Trinley and Kalon Tsarong Wangchuk Gyalpo who were already in Lhasa. Immediately, with a small contingent comprising of the Chief Ministers Shaydra, Sholkhang and Changkhyim, the new Kalon Tseten Wangchuk, Katsab Sampho Norbu Tsering and Katsab Lama Gungthang Tenzin Wangpo, Chamberlain Jampa Thubwang and others, immediately set off for India.

When the party had reached the Chagzam ferry point in Gongkar Chuwori, Manchu forces came in pursuit and so Chensel² Namgang, with a detachment of twenty /34 odd Bodyguards took up defensive positions and in a heroic rearguard action, held off the Manchu forces numbering 200 soldiers for two days. This heroic defensive action

1. Manchu Ministers and Generals connived to send a large army that invaded and occupied Tibetan areas in Kham and later in Central Tibet, and therefore, any reference to 'Chinese army' up to the Revolution of the Iron-Pig Year (1911) refers to the Manchu army but thereafter, to the Chinese army of the Republic of China. All references to 'rgya bod' in this book refer to 'China and Tibet' and not 'Chinese and Tibetans'.

2. a favorite inner courtier

enabled His Holiness and the entourage to pass safely through Nakartse and Phagri onto Dromo (Yatung). Chensel Namgang and his fellow bodyguards also managed to catch up with the party.³

At Dromo, His Holiness handed over a letter to David Macdonald the Trade Agent, to be forwarded to the British government stating:

"... the escape towards India has been necessitated by the excessive atrocities being committed by the large number of Chinese cavalry that had arrived in Lhasa, and since the current official Anglo-Tibetan relationship is like that of a child looking hopefully to its parents for help, therefore, I trust that you will offer protection and positive advice...."

The Sikkim Political Officer Charles Bell welcomed and received His Holiness upon arrival in Darjeeling via Kalimpong and the District Commissioner took charge of security and other amenities. Consistent with his initial motivations before setting out to India to avoid the dangerous situation in Tibet, His Holiness sent seven successive telegraphic messages to the Manchu government in Peking through the Tibetan officials resident in Calcutta stating clearly the excesses being committed in Tibetan areas by the Manchu Amban and other military and civilian officials, and demanding the withdrawal of all Chinese forces leaving behind not even a single soldier. There was no reply. Instead, it was reported in the Indian press that the Manchu Emperor has stripped the Dalai Lama of his title and deposed and that the golden-urn would be resorted to select a successor.

In Lhasa, too, the Amban made an announcement to the same effect. And getting convinced of the hopelessness of any prospect for direct talks with the Manchu government, on the 3rd of the second month of the Iron-Dog year (14th March 1910) His Holiness had an audience with Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India in Calcutta. With Charles Bell as the interpreter, His Holiness briefed the Viceroy of

3. ever since, Namgang came to be highly esteemed by His Holiness and ennobled with the title Dazang Dadul. His biographical sketch is included in the Appendix.

the expansionist actions of the Chinese forces in Tibet and expressed the hope for the restoration of the priest-patron relationship and the immediate withdrawal of Chinese forces from Tibet. The Viceroy replied to the effect that he was pleased to welcome and meet the Dalai Lama personally and that important political matters needed prolonged consideration, and that the statements of His Holiness would be duly reported to Her Majesty's government as there was nothing he could do more at the time. On the whole, the British Indian government extended a warm welcome, high honour in arranging the itinerary of the visit. During the few days in Calcutta, His Holiness visited museums and exhibitions, the zoo, the mint, underground barracks and so on after which he returned to Darjeeling.

Excesses committed by the invading Manchu officers and soldiers in Lhasa

After His Holiness had left for India, the Lhasa resident Amban, with the backing of freshly arrived forces, deposed Kalon Lama Lobsang Trinley from his post. Deputy Kalon Gyaltsen Phuntsog was sent to Kongpo Gyada in charge of road constructions. Khenche Neushag⁴, the Vice Regent was initially imprisoned and later banished to Dartsedo with military escort. Tsedung Tenzin Choedak (Lhado Karpo) and Shodrung Langthongpa and Rampawa were all appointed new Kalons. The existing Tibetan police force of Lhasa was replaced by Chinese soldiers.

At the same time, the treasuries at the Potala and the Norbulingkha were forced open, the armoury at the Tibetan Army at Zhol was emptied of the arsenal of weapons and ammunition, the Zhol Mint and Ordinance factory were taken over. The residences of the three Chief Ministers Shay-Shol-Chang located in Lhasa and their respective estates were totally looted. They also instituted a fresh review of the Tibetan

4. Ex-Kalon in charge of foreign affairs Neushag's memoirs of these events is published by Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, in their Oral History Series 5, pp 65-71

government's judicial decision of the Earth-Pig year (1899) pertaining to the Demo Estate, Tengeyling Monastery on grounds of unfairness. With such illegal excesses, they forced and continue to impose their will and authority upon the Tibetan people.

Peking gave the Lhasa resident Amban Lien-yu the following order:

Lo Ti-tai the Chinese Official has been appointed Overall Governor of Tibet and ordered to go and invite the Dalai Lama back to Lhasa. Accordingly, in the ninth month of the Iron-Dog year, Lo Ti -t'ai arrived in Darjeeling submitted the official Wangzhu message stating, "The situation in Tibet is stable and quiet as before and in accordance with the instructions of the Peking government, His Holiness should immediately return to Tibet."

His Holiness sent the following sealed reply:

"You are well aware of what has been happening in Tibet recently due to the machinations of the Amban and other civilian and military leaders, and since it is going to be impossible to continue with the former state of affairs, because of geographical contiguity, only with British mediation in our talks would make it possible for us to discuss past and future issues and the future direction of bilateral relations between China and Tibet. And therefore, if you, Lo Ti -t'ai, are competent to provide immediate response, that would be welcome. Otherwise, if you need to confer with the Emperor, then kindly submit this bilingual letter in Tibetan and Mongolian. Dated the, the 13th of the ninth month of second year of the reign of Hsüan-tung Emperor. (1910)"

Making contact with the Czar of Russia from India

On the 22nd day of the tenth month of the Iron-Dog year (1910) His Holiness sent a letter to the Russian Czar from Darjeeling through an Italian to be submitted by Khenche Lobsang Ngawang (Dorjiev). In the letter His Holiness said:

"Despite our best efforts at improving Sino-Tibetan relations In

accordance with your advice, at present, Tibet's authority has been usurped and this legitimate sovereign, displaced in view of which one would have liked to come to you but for the long distance and the presence of Chinese guards along the borders. So, considering the need for a treaty and the nearness of British India as a neighbouring country, one had to come to British Indian territory. However, on the issue of Tibet, apart from general help, the British government is not showing any meaningful interest, and even the request for me and a small retinue to go to Britain directly has been turned down.

All these are clearly indicative of the fact that the Anglo-Russian Convention and the Anglo-Manchu Treaty are found to be obstacles and on top of that the Chinese calumny in spreading the rumour that the Tibetan people look at Russia as the most trustworthy ally, has made it unlikely for the British government to bother about the fate of Tibet. And as for the extremely worrying situation in Tibet, with the Chinese rule becoming more imperious by the day while continuing to extend their construction works, road building and the laying of telegraph lines details of which have already been previously reported through Tsenzhab (Dorjiev) as well as the Sahib who came from there recently. If those who disregard and violate established international laws and norms are allowed to reap victory and the case is ignored any further, the very existence of Tibet including its polity and spiritual culture will be gone except in name.

Therefore, I appeal to your Majesty to consider, if convenient, to approach the Chinese in the spirit of the Anglo-Russian Convention in order to mediate and support the just cause of safeguarding the continuity of the polity and spiritual culture of Tibet. If not, kindly advice us, in consultation with countries friendly with your Majesty's Court, as to whether or not it would be worthwhile appealing to the international community."

And later, another letter was sent to Khenche (Dorjiev) from Darjeeling reminding him to pursue the matter further in the name of His Holiness and the Kashag.

Pilgrimage to the holy Buddhist sites in India

On the 3rd of the 12th month of the Iron-Dog year (1910) His Holiness and retinue left Darjeeling by train via Siliguri and reached Fatepur and then gradually made their way to the holy places of Kapila, Kushnigar and Kushinagara where prayers and extensive offerings were made. On the 13th, His Holiness and retinue had a special elephant ride arranged by the Royal Nepalese government to visit Lumbini, the birthplace of Lord Buddha. Special arrangements were in place nearby for their overnight rest where elaborate welcome and offerings were made.

Later, the party set off to Balrampur where at the invitation of the local King a great reception was held. His Holiness was delighted to meet the King who made religious offerings and also invited him to his beautiful summer palace to enjoy the sumptuous gardens and rest overnight. The next day, the King had got a large elephant especially prepared for His Holiness. It was resplendent with its two tusks beautifully carved with ornate patterns and each decorated with three sets of gold and silver bracelets studded with precious jewels; its massive bulk covered in a fringed network of pendants and garlands, a golden throne with a canopy bejewelled with all kinds of precious stones. Just behind the throne sat Chensel Namgang holding the parasol over His Holiness while Laden Sahib the interpreter sat in front, behind the mahout whereas the rest of the retinue rode horse drawn chariots to the holy stupa in Varanasi. His Holiness visited the pilgrimage sites and made extensive religious prayers and offerings at the sacred stupa.

From there, the party set off to Gaya by train and then rode horse drawn chariots to Bodh Gaya where extensive religious prayers and offerings were made. His Holiness ceremoniously repainted the eyes of the Buddha statue in the Maha Bodhi temple and offered fresh robes of finest silk with a tasselled apron made of rose-patterned Russian brocade. One day was devoted to visits to the Nairanjana river and Sitavana charnel ground where further prayer offerings were made.

On the 24th day, they set off to Rajgira where in front of the

great stone statue of Buddha, His Holiness performed consecration ceremony and then gave a teaching of the Heart of the Wisdom Sutra to the gathered pilgrims at the request of the Mongolian translator Yeshe Namgyal. Then on the 24th of the month, the party returned to Darjeeling.

Successful stint at the Palace of Unchanging Delight in Kalimpong

Raja Kazi Ugyen Dorji, a member of the royal family of Bhutan, who was very close and devoted to His Holiness, had just completed building a palatial house, pleasant both in and outside, in Kalimpong in 1911. In August, he invited His Holiness and his entire retinue with great fanfare to his new palace and a great celebration began as soon as His Holiness was seated on a high throne. His Holiness named the palace 'Palace of Unchanging Delight' and spent a few happy months there while carrying on with his various religious and political activities.

While residing in Darjeeling and Kalimpong, His Holiness continued making efforts to persuade Great Britain and Russia to support the cause of Tibet. At the same time, His Holiness also continued to conduct regular religious services for the spiritual and temporal benefit of Tibet and in connection with this effort, deputed Denma Zoepa Tsedung⁵ to go to Kham with the mission to circulate an edict to all the local monasteries to unite in their prayers for the benefit of the Buddha Dharma. The sealed letter read:

"Call to Chiefs and Treasurers, Heads, District Commissioners and all responsible members of both ecclesiastical and lay community, irrespective of social status, of the monasteries within Chabdak, Mar-Zo-Sang sum, Dege, Gonjo, Ba and Li, Hor-Ser, Gulok ,

5. A monk official of the Tibetan government

In recent times, China on their part, with utter disregard of the traditional bonds and mutual interests under the patron-priest relationship as well as in disregard international and moral laws, killed monks and destroyed monasteries - the custodians and propagators of the Buddha Dharma, in Kham and Amdo areas with the intention of destroying the spiritual and temporal polity of the Land of Snows and replacing it with a new order. As the arrival of Chinese officers and soldiers, has rendered it impossible for your legitimate sovereign of the Realm of Religion even to remain in safety, I'm continuing efforts from here to invoke and garner support for justice and for revoking wrongs that are against the long term interests of Tibet's spiritual and temporal polity.

Currently, most of the Chinese provinces are also up in revolt against the Emperor and in the upheavals, the main perpetrator of the assault on the Buddha Dharma in Kham has been executed, and since the situation has come to such a pass that it is hard to know if the Emperor's political rule will even be able to continue as before, (so) apart from some possible delay, the prospect for the fruition of our spiritual and political aspirations is good. .

As it is high time for all concerned to unite in making advance preparations by exploring all possible opportunities to work for the long and short term interest of the spiritual and temporal polity of Tibet without let up, I have especially delegated Denma Zoepa here with detailed instructions and full authority to assess the situation in your areas and to coordinate and lead discussions for actions in the interest of our nation, the Dharma and all sentient-beings. Now is the opportune time, for all of you aforementioned to discuss and brainstorm with him for necessary action- both civilian and military- by the Government.

And given the many volunteers we have had, recognizing that the holy Buddha Dharma is dearer than your own life and its protection and survival is the *raison d'être* for our efforts, both for this and after lives, therefore, being mindful of the Government's kindness I urge everyone to cherish one's individual as well as collective weal and come together as one in the interest of all sentient beings, the Buddha Dharma and the national polity.

Zoepa Denma is also hereby prohibited from engaging in any kind of actions that betray greed or upset the public weal. In light of the above,

everyone is hereby urged to make the right and proper moral choice. Iron-Pig year (1911)”

Defeat of the Manchu forces

As indicated above, given the wise pursuit of the two pronged civilian and military strategy combined with the great civilian war in China culminating in the overthrow of the Manchu Emperor in the Iron-Pig year Revolution, the Manchu forces that had invaded and occupied Tibet, found themselves like a pond with its water source run dry, without further sources of salary, supplies and reinforcement, soon ended up in internal fighting and robbery.

Far from being able to fight the Tibetan army, the Manchu officers and men got caught up in bloody internecine killing and therefore, the civilian and military Manchu leaders in Lhasa, after a discussion, requested the Tibetan government to assist with provisions and expenses for their repatriation to China via Kham. The Tibetan government agreed to provide the travel provisions and horse and mules for transport provided that they don't resort to robbery and extortions along the way and not to remain in Kham area in connivance with the Chinese forces stationed there. Accordingly they were given a total of 18,000 silver srang (coins) and the horses and mules readied but once they go the money, they procrastinated about returning on various pretexts.

Therefore, His Holiness sent the following edict from Kalimpong:

“The Land of Snows is Avaloketisvara’s destined field of activity and influence, and since all the great and good of both Samsara and Nirvana have prophesied me, like all my predecessors, as the legitimate spiritual and temporal authority, my resolve to preserve and promote the spiritual and political interests of Tibet is strengthened even more. If these few Chinese leaders, who have attempted to forcibly usurp Tibet’s political legitimacy and sovereignty, out of deep hostility towards our spiritual and temporal identity in violation of the mutual respect implied in the spirit of the patron-priest relationship, are let off scot free, our experience of Dhomay areas clearly shows that they are bound

to systematically undermine the Buddha Dharma. Given the consistent efforts we have made for the national interest, and by the blessings of the three jewels and the power of truth, massive revolts and upheaval has erupted in many of the Chinese provinces because of which the Emperor has been marginalized and replaced by Yuan Shikai as the President of the new Republic of China.

And with regard to the provinces, being embroiled in fighting each other with victory and defeat alternating, the salary of the Chinese officers and men based in Tibet has completely dried up because of which they have resorted to infighting and looting and eventually approached us with guarantors promising to return to China if travel provisions and expenses were provided. But after receiving the travel provisions and ten thousand silver srang, they had fresh ideas and deliberately called in the Chinese forces from Kongpo Po area attacked and looted Tibetan communities in the districts along the way and indulged in large scale looting from the monasteries in Southern Tibet.

Therefore, the Tibetan forces who had been mobilised for defence of our people and to prepare for my return, reached Panam area, the battalions from Shigatse and Gyangtse attacked and defeated the Chinese forces, as is well known. Although, there is nothing now that can prevent us from expelling them completely, the Chinese soldiery have been conscripted to come to Tibet rather than because of any deep hatred and ill will, a fact that is corroborated by their own infighting.

Hence, just as we have been continually exhorting the Ambans and the Emperor in Peking to withdraw the Chinese forces who are fundamentally responsible for destroying the peace and happiness of the people of Tibet, the Kashag have been instructed since last year to declare our willingness to offer travel provisions, horses and mules for those who agree to return responsibly and honourably to China without any creating any fuss or trouble along the way. And since the same order has been circulated recently to the Tibetan army as well as nationwide, I urge everyone to make the right choice by weighing up the pros and cons properly. From the Palace of Unchanging Delight, Kalimpong. Water-Mouse Year (1912)”

Thus, despite the best efforts by all the lamas and leaders and the people, both within and outside Tibet, to try to force the Manchu

forces to return to China without the need for prolonging the fighting, the Manchu officers and men based in Lhasa, contrary to their own voluntary undertakings, upon receiving the travel provisions and money, changed their minds and instead of returning, reinforced themselves by summoning all Chinese forces located in the U-tsang, Lhokha and Dagpo areas. Emboldened by the enlarged force now numbering some seventeen thousand officers and men, they planned to continue their rule over Tibet and as part of this strategy, all agreed to attack and occupy Sera monastery which they believed was the most powerful bastion in terms of manpower, power and wealth.

The basis of their confidence in agreeing to such an aggressive strategy stems from the fact that ever since the Manchu Lu Ch'uan forces first entered and occupied Lhasa in the Iron-Dog year (1910) and got away committing all sorts of atrocities and excesses, the Tibetan Government had adopted a pacifist policy of trying to resolve the conflict through peace talks instead of adopting a confrontation strategy immediately. And then, by acceding to their demands for travel expenses, horses and mules for the officers and men to return to China, the Manchu Officers and men interpreted these as signs that the Tibetan government lacked any offensive capabilities. Even without any reinforcements, salary and provisions from the Central government of China, it is evident that they were convinced of their ability to rule Tibet all by themselves.

Accordingly, on the evening of the 5th of the second month of the Water-Rat year (1912), the Chinese forces launched their attack on Sera. Immediately, the Tibetan General in consultation with the high government officials, both ecclesiastic and lay, declared war and the battle for Sera lasted some 96 hours. Eventually, the Chinese forces were repulsed and they withdrew from Sera to their strongholds at Drapchi and the south of Lhasa city. A few months of sporadic fighting continued.

Return to Tibet from India with the royal entourage

As His Holiness and entourage were preparing to return to Tibet, a sealed letter was sent to the Viceroy of India through Charles Bell, the Political Officer of Sikkim, expressing gratitude for the high honour and amenities provided by the Government of British during the enforced stay in India; the continuing efforts being made through John Jordan, the permanent British representative in Peking, to resolve the issue of Tibet with the Manchu government and later, the new Republican government of China, on the basis of (existing) Treaties, and requesting for continued British mediation until the future relations between China and Tibet is amicably settled; and for enhancing Anglo-Tibetan relations in the areas of religion, culture, education and trade. On the 10th day of the fifth month of the Water-Rat year (8th July 1912), His Holiness and party set off from Kalimpong for Lhasa. They returned through Dromo Shasingma and Phari where His Holiness stayed for a week each in the local monasteries.

While resting here, Warren Smith records that Tsenzhab Lobsang Ngawang (Dorjiev) arrived from Buryat Mongolia and made his submissions at Phagri. As His Holiness had misgivings that the British might suspect of intrigue and continued covert relations between Tibet and Russia, he immediately sent Tsenzhab Lobsang Ngawang to the newly independent Mongolian Republic with the mission to establish international relations with Tibet⁶

Then, at Ralung, H H the Panchen Rinpoche and others offered a magnificent welcome reception. After resting overnight, the party set off for Yardok Samding where His Holiness stayed for about three months.

Surrender of the two Manchu Ambans and their forces

6. Smith, Warren. (1996) op.cit. *The Tibetan Nation* p 181 and Richardson, Hugh. (1984) *Tibet and its History*, Shambala. p 105

In Lhasa, the Tibetan government, all classes of people of Lhasa and the various business houses all came together to launch a series of concerted attacks. Faced with the prospect of total defeat, the Amban Lian-yu and Commander Chung Yin ⁷ jointly sent a petition to His Holiness at Yardok Samding offering to surrender through a mediated Agreement for which the immediate despatch of a competent envoy to come to Lhasa was requested. Accordingly the Chief Minister Changkhyim and Zimzur Khenche Tsawa Tritul and Tsedon Tenzin Gyaltsen were despatched to Lhasa. On the 13th day of the sixth month of the Water-Mouse year (12th Aug 1912) the terms of the surrender was mediated by the Gorkha Ambassador in Lhasa under the following terms of agreement:

Article 1. All the Chinese weapons and munitions from Drapchi and Tengyeling to be handed over under the supervision of the Mediator following which the weapons are to be stored at the Yabzhi Langdun estate and the munitions, stored in the Doring, within fifteen days and to be guarded by the Gorkhas;

Article 2. The Chinese officers and men to leave in three separate groups for whom the Tibetan government is to provide an official escort, riding horses and pack mules;

Article 3. In order to create space for the storage of weapons and munitions, the Chinese officers and men to vacate Langdun Estate and the Tibetan officers and men to vacate Doring estate the very next day; and apart from allowing Amban Lian and Commander Chung to be allowed to retain thirty rifles each for their security, no other weapons or munitions are to be allowed to be sold.

The first batch comprising of Amban Lian and a group of soldiers left for India in August. However, since Commander Chung Yin and

7. Even China's last Head of Mission in Lhasa, Shen Tsung-Lien, wrote after leaving the country in 1948, "Since 1911 Lhasa (i.e, the Tibetan Government in Lhasa) has to all practical purposes enjoyed full independence" in *Tibet and the Tibetans*, Shen, T. and Liu, S., New York, 1973, p.62

his soldiers used delaying tactics to remain for about four months disregarding the terms of the Agreement, the Tibetans resorted to pressure tactics and cut off their food supplies which forced them to seek a way out. The Gorkha Ambassador was once again asked to mediate a nine-point Surrender Agreement on the 6th of the eleventh month (14th Dec 1912) which was signed by all the three parties. Among other things, the Agreement concerned the terms and conditions such as selling food rations to the Chinese garrison, provision of horses and mules for transport and their mode of payment, the process of inspecting what the Chinese were carrying and so on.

Eventually, on the 5th of the twelfth month of the Water-Mouse year (6th Jan 1913), the two remaining Chinese garrisons were forced to leave from Lhasa in as one group. A detachment of Tibetan soldiers under Dapon Dokharwa and Pelzhi, the District Commissioner of Dromo, were deputed to escort the returning Chinese officers and men up to Dzalepla pass. Rimzhi Tadowa and an Officer named Lobsang Norbu in charge of the transport horses, pack-animals and provisions.

On the 29th of the eighth month of the Water-Mouse year (1912) His Holiness and party left Samding for Palde where after staying overnight, went on to Choekhor Yangtse where he remained there for over three months. In the tenth month, a letter addressed to the Viceroy of India through the Trade Agent in Gyangtse on behalf of the Tibetan Kashag, the National Assembly and the three Seats announcing the total severance of relations with China with immediate effect.

Candid letters to the President of the new Government of China

While at Chokhor Yangtse, a telegram arrived from President Yuan Shi-kai, through the Government of India announcing the establishment of the Republic of China and asking His Holiness to accept the new political order. In reply His Holiness stated that since the Republic of China has just been established, and the foundations are yet to take firm root,

the President could better direct his energies towards securing peace and stability in China since as far as the Tibetans are concerned, we are certainly able to look after our own interests, the President need not concern and worry himself unduly with the affairs of our far away land. The reason why Tibetans have no liking for the Chinese government is because of the immeasurable excesses and suffering caused by the Chinese forces and as a consequence the flames of their anger have been fuelled even further. For example, when various excesses were being committed such as the destruction and burning of countless monasteries and temples by the Chinese forces, the Chinese leadership chose to ignore and take no action. In such situations, how can it be possible for the Tibetan s not to protest against China?

In the telegram President Yuan Shi-kai apologized for the excesses of the committed during the Manchu period and restored the Dalai Lama's former rank which was withdrawn by the Manchu Emperor in the Iron-Dog year (1910). His Holiness replied:

"I've no desire to accept any kind of rank from China as I am exercising my spiritual and temporal authority over Tibet as before. Although China and Tibet have had good patron-priest relations in the past, because of the deterioration of relations in recent times, the people of Tibet have restored our own freedoms."

8

Taking up residence in the Potala Palace

On the 6th day of the twelfth month of the Water-Mouse year (Jan 1913) Shakabpa, English p 245) His Holiness and entourage set off from Choekhor Yangtse for Dolma Lhakhang in Nyethang and stayed overnight after visiting and making extensive prayer offerings. The next day, with a large welcome party headed by the representatives of the Governing Council of Drepung monastery and the officials of the Nechung monastery, His Holiness and retinue made their way to Tsagur Linga.

8. Bell, Charles. 1946. *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*. p 155

There, a large official reception was held by several thousand monks and high officials headed by the ex-Gadhen Tripa Lobsang Gyaltsen Rinpoche, Prime Minister Changkhyim, the Military Commander, all ranking ecclesiastical and lay officials of the Government and all high ranking reincarnate lamas who received hand blessings.

After the ceremonies were over, His Holiness retired to the chamber with the former Gadhen Tri Rinpoche and the two were able to relax and hold convivial talks. His Holiness remained there for ten days and then on the 16th, His Holiness proceeded to Kyitshal Luding with never ending queues of monks lining up both sides of the route, riding the palanquin on the main section of the return journey. Upon arrival at the resting place in Luding, the main official welcome party headed by the Regent Tsemonling Huthukthu, all ranking ecclesiastical and lay officials of the Government, all high ranking reincarnates, lamas and officials of the Sera, Drepung and Gadhen welcomed His Holiness and escorted Him to the Potala Palace amidst an atmosphere of grandeur and happy celebrations.

John Jordan, the British permanent representative in Peking has filed an accurate account of the above event in his report to the British Foreign Office dated 28th Dec 1912:

"There is not a single foreign troop left in Central Tibet and the Tibetan army is in the process of retaking most of the areas in eastern Tibet. With great fanfare, the Dalai Lama has reached Lhasa. " ⁹

Soon afterwards, when the Regent Gadhen Trichen Tsemonling Rinpoche sought to step down from his position, he was granted the title and privileges equal to Kundeling Huthukthu in recognition of his meritorious services to the total satisfaction of His Holiness. Khendrung Jampa Tendar appointed Kalon and Tsipon Trimon Norbu Wangyal was appointed Deputy Commander with the title of Teji. Commander Dazang Dadul was honoured with the title of Dzasa and also approved for marrying the daughter of the late Minister Tsarong and inheriting

9. FO 535/16, No 27, Jordan to FO, 28 Dec. 1912

both title 'Tsarong' and the family estate. Sera monastery was awarded right nomadic estates of Daam in recognition of their loyal services while the Council of Gadhen monasteries were awarded half the district of Tsona as source of stable religious expenses.

Besides the Government officials, both ecclesiastical and laity, many other citizens from different backgrounds such as the businesses who had made outstanding contributions to military effort, were recognized and rewarded duly.

Chapter eight

Various efforts to introduce timely progressive reforms

Five-point Ordinance for national security and welfare of the subjects

On the eighth of the first month of the Water-Ox year (13th Feb 1912) His Holiness promulgated a five-point sealed proclamation for adoption by all the ecclesiastical and lay subjects of Tibet as under:

"I, known as the Vajradhara Dalai Lama, Omniscient Master of Buddhist faith at all times, Victorious Lord of the three realms, as prophesied by the Lord Buddha from the noble land of India, speak to you thus:

I am addressing to you all, the ecclesiastical and lay citizens whether high, low or mediocre, and all those who have been appointed to positions of responsibility in both civilian and military affairs in this richly endowed and temperate region surrounded by white snowy ranges. Just as our kind Lord Buddha had prophesied from the noble land of India, an endless succession of reincarnations of Avaloketisvara beginning with the three Great Dharma Kings right through to the present times have manifest themselves in this temperate and richly endowed land chosen as the emblematic activity field, and nurtured sentient beings with compassion according to their subjective spiritual proclivity. From the time of Genghis Khan and Altan Khan of the Mongols, the Ming dynasty of the Chinese and ever since the patron-priest relationship was established between the Manchu Emperor and the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, there has been a tradition of mutual help and sustenance.

Nevertheless, a few Chinese leaders of Sichuan and Yunan have, out of greed to colonize Tibet, not only embarked on a merciless spree of authoritarian suppression and torture but also dispatched a large number of Chinese soldiers in the holy city of Lhasa on the pretext of the need for policing the Trade Marts as provided in the Treaty Agreement. Hence, in order to clarify to the Manchu

Emperor by telegram that the Sino-Tibetan relations are based on patron-priest relationship rather than the subordination of one by the other, I left with my Ministers to the Indo-Tibetan border. However, in the wake of my departure, since they sent Chinese soldiers followed by more reinforcements to get me dead or alive, I had no choice but to cross the border.

After reaching Indian territory despite my successive telegrams explaining the situation to the Chinese side, there was not a single response because of the avarice of a few high ranking Ministers. Whilst this was the situation, due to the inexorable force of the law of karma, horrific upheavals erupted that undermined the stability of the Manchu Emperor's rule and due to the collective efforts of all the Tibetan people, high or low, according to their individual abilities in fighting the Chinese forces, all the Chinese forces in Central Tibet have now been expelled completely; I, have also returned safely to the holy land where I am destined to serve, and the remnants of the Chinese forces in Kham region will soon be expelled. The dark Chinese ambition of turning Tibet into a slave colony of theirs in the name of patron-priest relationship has now, instantly disintegrated like a fistful of sand or the rainbow in the sky.

Since achieving this fortunate opportunity to enjoy both spiritual and material wealth and blessings, the first of the set of duties that you, the aforementioned members of the ecclesiastical and lay citizenry, have to discharge are:

(1) Since all spiritual and temporal well being in this world depend fundamentally on the Buddha dharma whose lasting continuity can be ensured through offering of material support and respectful devotion, all holy seats of monastic communities irrespective of their sectarian affiliations, such as the divine Tsuglagkhang in Lhasa, the Chinese built Ramoche, the three Seats of Learning, Traduk and Samye and other holy places, should all be continually worshipped and maintained.

(2) The Preceptors, Masters and the clergy of all monasteries, irrespective of their sectarian affiliation, must endeavour to preserve and promote, restore what has declined; continue the ritual practice as well as teaching and learning, and engage in learning, contemplation and meditation according to one's own tradition of new or old Sutrayana and Mantrayana pure precepts, and strictly

abide by one's monastic and spiritual vows.

(3) Everyone, holding official positions of authority and responsibility must consistently endeavour to ensure that any kind of tax collection and law enforcement is carried out with fairness and justice in order to benefit both the Government and the subjects. Otherwise, there have been instances In Ngari Korsum and other faraway places from here such as Dhomay where a few irresponsible officials have indulged in malpractices such as compelling people to buy shoddy goods at extortionist prices or compromising the quality of goods, and coercing and torturing the subjects to supply corvee labour, horses and pack animals more than stipulated and thus, making life impossible for them. For minor mistakes and shortfalls, people have been punished with confiscation of their land and property, amputation of limbs and so on. Such wrongs which cannot be condoned either under the law of karma that governs both this and after lives or serve the interest of anybody in any way, must be completely stopped.

(4) Although Tibet does not possess the kind of power and wealth or industrial development like other countries, since it is a free country living in peace and happiness in accordance with the laws of the Dharma, we are currently paying greater attention to various aspects of civilian and military matters and mobilizing the army in a big way in order to be able to defend our own land. It is but natural that by way of military tax (conscription) some degree of hardship is bound to be faced by people along the route to Kham in the immediate future. So, bearing in mind the past experience of repeated Chinese attempts to impose occupation without any legal rights, everyone is hereby exhorted to voluntarily take extra responsibility and commitment to the ways and means of governing our own land and defending our own people. Furthermore, in the border areas in the higher and lower regions of the plateau as well as in the north and south, the border guards should be on high alert and exercise tight control so as not to allow any foreign spies slip in and should there be the occasion for the slightest of doubts, the relevant District Commissioner should dispatch a mounted messenger ride day and night to report to the State (government). Likewise, they should never be complacent nor make a mountain of a molehill out of minor issues that could unnecessarily cause serious alarm.

(5) Although Tibet has a small population with a huge area of undeveloped

land, whenever some hard working people think of exploiting of such unused lands, they are frustrated either by the greed leaders who give various pretexts to profit themselves or the jealousy of landlords who cannot bear to see others cultivate and benefit from the land. Since such practices permanently damage the foundations of land development and benefit none except harming the interests of both oneself and others, henceforth, wherever there are vacant unused public land in the hills or valleys, no one from the Government, the Estates and Monasteries are allowed to prevent any experienced and hard working families from cultivating such lands or even planting willows and thorny shrubs that are of benefit and use. After such land has been productively used for three years without tax, thereafter, according to the area and potential productivity, they will be subject to annual Government tax or lease fees of the Landlord but the cultivator shall win permanent ownership of the land, thus benefitting both the Government and the subjects.

If everyone follows and practices the aforementioned instructions, that would tantamount to repaying the kindness of the Government, and at the same time, have the great benefit of naturally ushering in and promoting peace and happiness for both ourselves and others in all parts of the country. Therefore, this decree enjoining people to adopt and sustain the practice of both the holy Dharma and temporal laws of morality without error in recognition of relative profits and risks, should be widely publicized in all territories of the nation and a copies, put up as posters in places of public congregation with the originals kept in the archives of the respective District Commissioner. Government officials arriving on postings to the district must study and enforce the decree conscientiously. This decree for public information and action is hereby written on the 8th of the lunar Month of Miracle¹⁰s at the inestimable Palace of the second Potala.”

In the above edict, the stipulation for fairness and justice in tax collection and law enforcement and the stipulation to completely end the practice of amputation of limbs and so on that cannot be condoned either under the law of karma that governs both this and after lives or serve the interest of anybody in any way in Part 3; the stipulation that

10. first lunar month in which Lord Buddha had displayed various miracles to tame the heretics in 511 BC.

since Tibet is a free country we should govern our own land and defend our own people and heightened security alert along the borders in Part 4; and the stipulation providing tax incentives and land ownership encouraging the use of vacant land, and the exhortation to be law abiding citizens according to the divine and temporal laws in Part 5 are all significant social welfare measures in international social history and widely acclaimed by experts in international law.

At this point, it is felt relevant and important to record here the following extract from Shakabpa's Political History of Tibet ¹¹ which reflects the follow-up action taken by His Holiness to the above mentioned five-point edict or proclamation. Shakabpa writes:

"Although it was a time of peace and quiet in the Dhomay areas, due to persistent reports and complaints being received to the effect that members of staff of the Governor of Dokham, the Army units, food-grain procurement and payroll offices and others like the District Overseers and leaders are guilty of commissioning corvee labour, horses and pack animals according to their whim and fancy; forced sale of goods at extortionist prices, compromising the quality of goods, and various instances of bending tax and law enforcement practices for personal gain and profit, His Holiness sent the following edict to Kham regions in 1929:

Address to all ecclesiastical and lay officials, high or low and their servants under the leadership of the Kalon, civilian and military Governor of Dokham who are responsible for political administration,

"In this land surrounded by cool and pure white snowy ranges, owing to the immeasurable activities appropriate to the beings performed by the various emanations of the Buddhas of the ten directions and three times, generated through bodhicitta aspirations and spiritual activities, the positive light of the Buddha Dharma in conjunction with the system of spiritual and temporal rule of the Gadhen Phodrang Government, mandated by heaven, have been in the process of guiding all beings on the virtuous path of wholesome actions for both short and long term benefits.

11. Shakabpa, op cit. (Tibetan) pages 288-291

At such a juncture in recent times, the Lu-Ch'uan army of China, in violation of the spirit of the patron-priest relationship between China and Tibet, motivated solely by the aim of destroying Buddhism, the fundamental source of peace and happiness, embarked, beginning from Dhomay, on the destruction of many monasteries that are the centres of preservation and promotion of Buddhism, setting alight statues and images, scriptures and stupas, killing and looting. Everyone knows very well the harm and damage done to the Buddha Dharma and the Tibetan polity through such unprecedented heinous crimes and introduction of new systems. In order to offset the likelihood of long term damage to the Buddha Dharma, no effort and expenses has been spared nor the use of both civilian and military resources as a result of which the facts of the prevailing situation has been emerging gradually.

Through a two pronged strategy of facilitating better means of livelihood and enforcing laws to prevent unhappiness for the people of Kham the subjects were being looked after properly and army units dispatched in stages for our own defence. As the overall civilian and military Governor, Initially Kalon Lama Jampa Tendar was expressly dispatched and he has carried out the instructions faithfully to better the livelihood of the people. However, sometime later, a couple of incompetent civilian and military leaders, their avarice getting the better of their sense of propriety, had begun to break the law from above by causing great stress and trouble to the subjects. And even after the leaders were made aware of such excesses, through negligence and failure to exercise self-restraint, no proper leadership has been shown.

Besides, due to the prolonged stay of officers and men, instead of the expected discharge of public duties, pursuit of personal interests have unnecessarily become paramount and in particular, since recent times some greedy civilian and military officers, leaders and their staff have started engaging in forced sale of goods at extortionist prices and compromising the quality of goods for sale; unrestricted and unwarranted requisition of corvee labour, horses and pack animals; imposing heavy fines and compensations on trumped up charges of damage or loss of things; extorting money on private horses against local customs and so on.

Furthermore, due to the excesses of some misguided local leaders in Kham areas, who by conniving with evil doers and beating up mediators, caused

indescribable hardship and privations that cannot even be recounted one by one, and as such I understand that many of the people of Kham within our jurisdiction, have suffered decline in living and suffering hardships far worse than ever before.

Since, it is the unavoidable duty of the Dharma King to look after the interests and welfare of his subjects, various actions are being taken from here, and some of the main culprits guilty for excesses committed in the past have been apprehended and punished. Henceforth, only in emergency cases relating to border security when mounted couriers cannot make the round trip to Lhasa for sealed authorisation, the Dhomay Governor may issue such an authorisation for requisitioning transport services. Apart from that, in all other cases no civilian or military officer or leaders or members of staff of the Government can requisition horses and pack animals for transport services on any kind of pretext without obtaining the prior authorisation and sealed attestation of this office¹², the Prime Minister, the Kashag and the Governor of Dhomay.

Likewise, with regard to the requisition of transport services for the officers and men responsible for border defence, apart from what is authorised in the Regulations, no extra requisitioning, forced sale of goods at extortionist prices, compromising of quality of goods that burden and exploit the subjects either directly or indirectly by officers of any rank, is totally prohibited. The subjects are to be supported compassionately in their efforts to better the quality of their livelihood.

Should anyone habituated to greedy exploitation of the subjects disregards these injunctions and continues to burden and exploit them as before according to their whim and fancy, be it known that thorough investigations are ongoing and if the negative allegations are proved to be true, irrespective of their rank and status the concerned officers and men shall be immediately punished to set an example to everybody and for the sake of future good conduct. Rest assured they will not be treated leniently as before.

The subjects, too, who are mindful of the past kindness of the Government, are hereby urged not to be disheartened by the unbecoming behaviour and

12. the Private Office of HH the Dalai Lama.

actions of certain misguided officials since we are continuing to think and work for the interests and welfare of the whole country. Therefore, I exhort you to continue to have faith, trust and love for your Government and strive hard to abide by the unerring ten divine rules and sixteen temporal rules of moral conduct with proper motivation and effort.

I hereby urge everyone, both in and outside the country, to adopt and abide by the above injunctions properly and unerringly in the name of the law of karma, taking into consideration the relative advantages and risks (individually and collectively) in the long and short terms.

From the Grand Hall, the venue of transparent exercise of the spiritual and temporal authority at the blessed Norbulingka Palace, with its grove swirling with peace and happiness.¹³

Dated the 5th day of the eighth month of the Earth-Snake Year.

(Compendium of Official documents titled Sunlight to make the lotus field of Buddha Dharma to bloom. ji 29 ba 5 pa)

An edict sealed with the Private Office was circulated and whereas those found guilty were punished others who had served the Government and looked after the welfare of the subjects were blessed and rewarded. Often when officials were setting off on posting to a far off border area such Dhoday, His Holiness was heard to chastise them not to be 'possessed by the Demon as soon as you've left Lhasa.'¹⁴

13. *lugs gnyis nyin mo'i snang ba ltar longs su spyod pa'i mdun sa nor gling bde skyid kun dga' 'khyil ba'i pho brang*

14. *rgyal khab* in the context refers to the capital city of Tibet

Professor Ngawang Thondup Narkyid was born in Tsethang in central Tibet in 1928. When he was six years old he joined the Drepung Monastery. When he was thirteen years old he was selected with forty-two other young monks to attend the prestigious Academic Institute at the Potala Palace (known as Tze-Lobdra in Tibetan)

In 1952, he went to Beijing to study language and literature. He taught Tibetan language and culture there.

In 1957 when he returned to Tibet, he was elected as a member of the Government Reform Committee. Then he became the youngest person to be appointed to the Lhasa City Mayoral Council which was composed of two monks and two lay officials.

He took part in 1959 10 march uprising at Norbulingka first and then long with many other monks and volunteers served in defending Lhasa. After few days, he escaped the Chinese invaders by crossing the Himalayas into India, arriving a few months after the Dalai Lama. After arriving in India, he worked as a staff member for the Foreign Affairs Department, served as the first general secretary of the Department of Information and International Relations, and was the first general secretary of the First Session of the Tibetan Parliament in Exile. He also served as the first General Secretary of Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

"Between" 1976-1979 he studied Linguistics, with a minor in Cultural Anthropology at Western Michigan University. In 1983, he was instructed by H.H. The fourteenth Dalai Lama to be his official biographer.

He travels widely and speaks in many places in support of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's policy of democracy and non-violence in working toward a lasting, harmonious and peaceful relationship between Tibetan and Chinese. He was offered Honorary PhD (Laws) by Western Michigan University in August 22nd 2009.

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